

YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY

ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

Anti-War Movement at YSU During the 1960s

Personal Experience

O. H. 1363

EDWARD S. MANN

Interviewed

by

Matthew T. Butts

on

October 9, 1990

ED MANN

Ed Mann was born on January 6, 1928 in Toledo, Ohio. He is the son of Louis and Irene Mann. He first came to Youngstown in the mid-1930s when his father opened the Richman Brothers Clothing Store in Youngstown. He returned to Toledo in 1939 with his mother following his parents' divorce.

Ed Mann never completed high school deciding instead to enlist in the Marines in January of 1945. After his enlistment expired Mann moved back to Youngstown in 1948 because of the great need for labor in this area. He was first employed as a fireman on the Erie Railroad. He soon quit this job and began to attend Youngstown College on the G.I. Bill. While attending college, Mann was influenced by John Barbero to apply for work at Youngstown Sheet & Tube. His job was soon interrupted, though, when his Marine Reserve unit was activated in 1950. He returned to Youngstown in 1951 and resumed his job at Youngstown Sheet & Tube, which he held until his retirement in 1977.

While working at Youngstown Sheet & Tube, Mann became active in the union movement. He served as a union steward throughout the 1960's and 1970's. He also became concerned about the United States' involvement in Southeast Asia during the 1960's. He was an active participator in the anti-war movement in the Youngstown area.

Mann has been a long time member of the Industrial Workers of the World and the United Steel Workers of America. Today he remains active in helping these organizations achieve their goals for industry workers.

Ed Mann resides with his wife Betty, who he married in 1950, at 6078 Richards Avenue, Hubbard, Ohio. They have three children, Nathan, Beth, and Timothy, all of whom live in the Youngstown area.

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INTERVIEWEE: EDWARD S. MANN

INTERVIEWER: Matthew T. Butts

SUBJECT: Anti-war, Vietnam, Labor, unions

DATE: October 9, 1990

B: This is an interview with Ed Mann for the Youngstown State University Oral History Program, on The Anti-War Movement at YSU During the 1960s, by Matthew Butts, at 6078 Richards Avenue, Hubbard, Ohio, on October 9, 1990, at approximately 10:00 a.m.

Mr. Mann, tell me a little bit about where you're from and what it was like growing up.

M: Well, really, I grew up in Toledo, Ohio. During the Depression, I was just a young fellow. I left high school and enlisted in the Marines when I was seventeen. After I got out of the service I came to Youngstown because one of the fellows that I knew said, "If you want to make money and if you want to go to college, Youngstown's the place because there is a lot of work there." I was nineteen years old then. I came here and got a job immediately. What he told me was true. There was jobs all over the place. You could walk down the street and there were help wanted signs everywhere, every kind of plant.

I think the first day I was here which was February 14, 1949, I'm pretty sure that was the date, I applied for a job at U.S. Steel, Youngstown Sheet & Tube and the Erie Railroad in the morning. By the time I got home in the afternoon, all three had called for me to come to work.

That's an example of what it was like. There was no drug testing at the time. They said, "Do you want to work?" You had a job. I went to work on the Erie Railroad as a fireman on the railroad. I never worked any industrial job prior to that really, of any consequence. It turned out to be a darn good job and six months later they changed over to diesel locomotives, so I got laid off and I went to the steel mill. That's pretty much the early story.

B: Tell me something about you family from your childhood to present.

M: Be more specific.

B: How many brothers and sisters, a little bit about your parents...

M: I have a sister who is five years younger than I am. My father was a salesman for Richman Brothers Clothing Stores. During the Depression, he'd go from city to city opening up stores for them. We lived in Youngstown for a short while before we went to Toledo. I was real young. He opened up the Richman Brothers Clothing Store here. Then my parents were divorced and my mother moved back to Toledo where she was from.

B: When did you meet your wife?

M: Well, she wasn't my wife when I met her. I had signed up for Youngstown College at the time. It was a college, not a university. I went back to Toledo during the summer to go to summer school at Toledo University and that's where I met my wife.

B: Tell me what issues, from what you can remember in the 1960s, were most crucial to labor?

M: Well, we had come out of the 1959 strike, which was 116 days, the steel strike. There was employment at that time, if I remember correctly. In the early 1960s, there wasn't that much employment, because I was laid off for thirteen months and I had to go to Cleveland to find work. But as the 1960s moved on and the Vietnam War started to build up, there was more employment in basic steel industry. Things looked better. There was work.

B: Was there any other issues of importance to labor, benefits or...?

M: Yes. I think the 1959 strike was for paid up hospitalization. In fact, I am quite sure that was a main issue. Job security, companies wanted to do an article

2B, a section 2B in the contract which gave the companies rights to eliminate jobs on a wholesale basis. That was a major issue, too. I don't know if you're familiar with a contract, steel contracts. The latter part of the 1960s, as young people started coming out of the Vietnam War, if I remember correctly, there were the kids with the long hair, the beards and there was a lot of hassle on employment. They'd get hired, but on the job they were hassled quite a bit by some low-level supervision. Those were some big issues. There was always the racial issue about blacks getting decent jobs.

B: Explain to me your role as the labor leader.

M: I don't consider myself as a labor leader but I was active in the union. I was a steward, always part of a group that wanted more democracy in the union. The rank and file people had more input. Rank and file is a term that's overused too. Some people just want to pay their dues and don't want to be bothered, but there were other people that wanted some involvement in having some say so on what kind of contracts we had. I was pretty active in that group.

B: Describe to me a picture of what labor and what the labor movement in Youngstown was like in the 1960's.

M: Well, actually, you would have to go back further than that, like about 1937, that period, with the Little Steel Strikes and the organizing days. The unions had really a free hand, as far as organizing went because the government sanctioned with the Norris-Loguardi Act. You had a right to organize. The government supported that.

The momentum from that period carried on into the 1960s. Now, we're talking about 1937 to say, 1940 and then 1960, that's not such a long period of time when you really look back. There was still folks working in the mill that remember what it was like without a union. They were like a core of people who would encourage young people to get active. There was a lot of organizing being done because people wanted to be organized. You couldn't force a plant into the union because it just didn't work that way. If people didn't want a union, they didn't want one, maybe they didn't need one, as far as they were concerned.

Actually we were still on the momentum from that organizing period. It didn't do a lot to socially change any aspects of work. But the companies had their rights to hire, fire, reprimand and schedule. You would never tackle that aspect of contracts. So it was almost like unions became a buffer between management

and the workers where prior to the unions everybody made their own deals. If they wanted the weekend off, if they wanted to get a better job they had to go see the boss. Seniority came into effect. There could no longer be any favoritism. I'm talking basics. I'm sure on a smaller scale, there was a lot of favoritism and so on. It put order into it. Where instead of going to the boss to get a day off, or a different job, or a different turn, the union became the buffer there. They took care of those problems. So it gave the company more latitude to run their facility. You probably hear today about companies saying, "Well, we don't need a third party to intercede between the workers and management." In reality they do, otherwise its anarchy.

B: What was an average day like in the steel mills?

M: It depended on your job. Now you could have a white collar job in the mills, you could have a real nice easy job. If you were in basic industry, in the heavy part of the blast furnaces or coke plants and open hearths and blooming mills, that was where the hard dirty work was. It was hot and dirty. Don't forget the EPA stuff wasn't even thought about at those times. The companies pretty much had a free hand to run that place the way they wanted to.

B: What was your job?

M: I worked in the open hearth where they melted the iron, the scrap to make steel.

B: What was a typical day like for you?

M: A typical day was that you would go out to work. We always wore long underwear in summer or winter to keep protected from the heat or the cold. It was hard, heavy, physical, hot work. Really heavy...Eight or nine hundred pounds in a wheelbarrow was a lot to wheel. We did a lot of that work around the furnaces where the molten steel was. That sort of thing. It was hard, physical, hot work, very physically demanding. Not so much mental, but physical. The pay was good on those particular jobs. The lower scale jobs, you just made the minimum allowance.

B: Being active in the union, what were your main goals?

M: My main goal was to see some dignity in the work place, some fairness. Basically that's it. People have a right to express themselves, whether you like it or not, they still are a part of our society and you still have to listen to all sides. You didn't want to become as autocratic as the companies were. Our unions are

supposed to be a democratical relation. Supposed to be.

B: How was organized labor perceived by the public of Youngstown? I know most of the people did work in the mills, but the general public. How did they perceive them?

M: I think they thought it was a necessary part of their lives to get some equity, where favoritism did not exist on a large scale, except maybe between the black and the white. Women weren't even being thought of being hired at that time. The people that worked there...The community felt that unions were important. Don't forget you'd have some decent wages for a change, which meant you could have a decent lifestyle, you could move to the suburbs, you could have a car or two cars, you could send your kids to college, you could build a newer church. The interest structure was not bad because the needs of the people were being met on a large scale. I don't remember levies being put on the ballot as much then as they are today to support the things we think we must have because these things were taken care of out of taxes.

B: During the Vietnam War Era, what was your position on the war itself?

M: I was anti-war ever since I got out of the Service. I was in the Marine Corps two times during the World War II and the Korean War. I think war is ridiculous, where young people are put out to fight each other who have no political interest in the outcome. I think war is horrendous, it's criminal. When I see young people being used up who are potentially the greatest wealth this country has to fight somebody's war, I mean I consider myself an Internationalist. I don't care whether you're Korean, Vietnamese, German, Russian, Arabian, whose war are we fighting?

B: Did you try and influence labor to your position or any people in the mills?

M: Well first of all, you have to recognize I was not in a majority group in the mills. Basically it was hold my job and do my job as a steward. Other than those eight hours, I was active in some anti-war movement activities and not ashamed of it. I didn't hide it. I think I was in Washington on the first march. You could only get enough people to walk around the White House, that block. I don't know if you've ever been to Washington. By the time the war was over, there were millions of people who demonstrated. So it did grow. I was never ashamed of the fact that I was anti-war. People I worked with knew I was against the war, but I did my

job as a union rep and as a worker in the mill.

B: Labor in Youngstown, what was their position on the war?

M: They didn't want to touch it with a ten foot pole. Outwardly, the unions were very patriotic, a term I could use.

B: How about the average worker in the mills. What do you think their position was?

M: I think if you didn't have any kids of military age, you were for the war. When they started drafting kids, people who were in the mills, they started thinking about it. "If it doesn't affect me, I'm not going to worry about it," was the attitude a lot of people had. I don't think they were anti-war, but I don't think they were pro-war either. The people that had kids that were of age to go did have some concerns. That's my own opinion.

B: What impact do you think the Vietnam War had on labor in the steel industry?

M: I think it was a trap. I think we had some leaders in the unions that were pretty jingoistic and thought that this was to save America from Communism. I think that there were a couple union leaders who were against the war. I can't remember the names. I think one was a machinist, president of the machinists union. There may have been a couple of others. Outwardly against the war. U.E., United Electrical Workers, their president, was anti-war and up front with it. But other than that, I can't recall any other major unions taking a position against the war. It was good for business. We were on a war economy.

B: In the long run do you think it was detrimental to industry in the United States?

M: No, industry made a lot of money. I don't think the war was detrimental at all. In fact, I think they feed on war. Look at our defense budget. It's crazy. The Stealth Bomber, for example. People at RMI want to see that because I guess there was a lot of titanium in that, or the B-2 bomber. Of course, politically, they were for it. Wars make money. Even for workers. Isn't money what makes this world go 'round? It appears that way.

B: In general, the workers looked on the war as something external then, everyday it wasn't...

M: Yes. If it really didn't hit home, they would put it on a real personal basis, I guess. "Hey I got two cars, because I have been working two jobs now. I'm working six or seven days a week and I've got the good life."

B: How did the Youngstown community feel towards the Vietnam War?

M: I think they supported it. I can remember the first demonstration we had locally in the city...It's easy to go to Washington and carry a piece of paper on a stick saying you're against the war. But to do it in your own home town, that's tough. You can have all these grandiose ideas and feelings about what should be right...It's easy to go somewhere else and demonstrate to that affect but right in your own home town, you know, "What will my neighbors think?" "Maybe my kids will be picked on or something." The first time in Youngstown I can remember I don't think we had fifteen people march from the University down to the square demonstrating against the war. I don't think there was fifteen. There was a few labor people, a few blacks, there was still some radical groups represented, some socialist groups, CP, Communist Party, some representatives of that. That doesn't mean everybody was in that category by any means, but there were very few just ordinary citizens. Not that there weren't any, but there were very few. It takes some guts to get out there and say, "Hey, this is where I stand."

B: When did the anti-war movement begin to pick up in Youngstown?

M: I don't know if it really ever did pick up. There was a peace movement, which is still in existence today. Have you talked to any of those folks? Well maybe you didn't. The Peace Council. I don't think it was ever a big movement in Youngstown. We didn't get a lot of leadership from...Don't forget, people at the University were afraid for their jobs, there was always Communist sympathizers, the threat that hangs over people ever since the McCarthy days or even earlier than that. People scared to death of that.

B: What event stands out most in your mind from the Vietnam War Era?

M: The Kent killings. One demonstration in Washington. I think Nixon was president at the time and they gassed the people with tear gas.

B: What was your opinion about Kent State?

M: Well, I felt that if Governor Rhodes could allow that

to happen, I think labor was in a big threat. There was a big threat against labor if they want to do some serious organizing, there wouldn't be any hesitation of the state to call in the National Guard to quell anything there, and even provoke strikers or pickets so they could bring in their Armed Forces. Now any country that could shoot down students doesn't have much to offer as far as I'm concerned. I saw that change. It was the next governor, I think it was Celeste. They can ridicule stuff that he's done but I think the government in Ohio did change. I told these people where I'm at.

B: Do you recall any specifics about the first anti-war protest in Youngstown?

M: We didn't get any support from the community. They kind of just ignored us. There was no anti-war bashing at that time, they just ignored us, from what I can recall.

B: Did you have any part in the Moratorium at Youngstown State in 1969?

M: You're going to have to refresh my memory for that.

B: It was a movement in November of that year. It was organized by Dr. Alice Budge and Dr. Slavin. There were approximately one thousand people gathered. They marched from the University down to the center of Youngstown.

M: I really don't recall whether I had any part in that or not. Those times are fuzzy to put together. I think I was well pleased to see the thing had grown.

B: Did you have any dealings with any students during this period of anti-war.

M: Yes. This was like a house on the underground railroad. Students were stopping here all the time, passing through. But as far as being involved with students at the university level, I don't think I was.

B: As the war progressed, did labor's attitude toward it change at all?

M: In my estimation it didn't. You have to remember, the war meant jobs for steel workers. That was the bottom line in the average home.

B: Did the Vietnam War lengthen the life of the steel mills in Youngstown?

M: Probably. I couldn't say for sure but probably. There was a demand for steel and rather than build a new mill or modernize an old mill because to modernize you had to shut down. From what I learned about the steel industry, when there was money to be made they didn't shut down. They'd keep that thing running even if they had to use tape and bailing wire. It kept the industry going. It was the guns and butter type of economy. You could still get the cars, you could still get the appliances, as well as support the military. So there was work. When it came right down to no war, when it only became a peace time economy, that's when the older mills were shut down anyway.

B: As the war wound down and eventually ended, what became important to labor at that time?

M: Holding its own. Not really out on a big organizing campaign or anything. It was hold what we've got. There were efforts at organizing but no mass efforts. Don't forget, in the 1950s, labor cleaned house. They got rid of all their organizers who were radical and had some kind of a philosophy about labor and just took care of the old pie cards. In other words, people in the bureaucracy of the union had to maintain their jobs. You didn't maintain your job by going against the tops of the union or the bureaucracy of the union, the ones that made a decision. You kept your nose clean. When you keep your nose clean, there are no problems.

B: Being active in the union, were you ever afraid of any management response?

M: Not really because I knew that I had a union and I knew that folks would support me. You mean personally?

B: Personally, yes.

M: When I did my job as a worker, I did my job as a union rep.

B: Did management attempt to forestall the unionization in Youngstown?

M: Oh, yes. There was a 1937 strike, the Little Steel Strike. You know that memorial down there on the square. There were some people killed, security people in the mill were armed. In Warren, for example, they used to fly in airplanes with food for the scabs.

There is a fellow in Warren who is still around who shot one of the airplanes down. It was war. It was an economic war but it had its physical aspects as well.

B: Do you know that person's name?

M: I've heard to speak of him. I know he's still around. I could find out for you probably. They flew the planes in from Cleveland and landed in the mill with food. There were two planes. I'm sure one of them was shot down. It was probably in the newspaper, in the Vindicator in 1937. I'm sure you could trace that down.

B: As the mills closed in Youngstown, what was the union response to it? Did they try to keep them open or...

M: The whole union attitude was that they never had to deal with anything that fast. I was president of the local at the time, there was some other presidents from Campbell and Brier Hill and Struthers and so on. This was Sheet & Tube in 1977 or Lykes or LTV or whatever you want to call it. We went and saw McBride who was president of the International Union. There was a legislative conference that weekend. It was in September of 1977. We got an audience with the president of the International Union. He told us straight out. He said, "If you can't make money, you get out of business." That was the whole company's philosophy. Here it had been ingrained in our own International president. He may have been absolutely right but I think labor should have made him fight it.

We tried to do that in Youngstown. We took over U. S. Steel headquarters. I don't know if you're familiar with that. That would have been a good start but that didn't work. You can't have three leaders. We decided to leave the headquarters when the company agreed to negotiate with us. Then after we left the headquarters, the company said, "No, we changed our mind." Have you ever seen the movie or the film "Shout Youngstown"?

B: No, I haven't.

M: Well, it was a documentary made about Youngstown at that time.

B: Relate your experience of the occupation of the U.S. Steel headquarters.

M: It was exciting. It was unions doing what working people had to do to save their jobs. It was very exciting. There were over seven hundred people there that morning. We went down there and took over that office. It was exciting. It was like when I was in the Marine Corps when I was seventeen.

B: Did you find it easier to get more active support from

the union members when the mills were closing than when they were say, going full blast?

M: Absolutely. Because you're getting into people's pockets. Sure.

B: Did you have any dealings with Al Shipka?

M: Yes. He was president of the AFL-CIO. His son works at the University now. Tom Shipka.

B: What was his role in the labor movement?

M: He was president of the AFL-CIO which means he represented all of the AFL-CIO unions on the district level. Mahoning County. On a county level. He was a staff man for the International Union and I believe probably one of the better bureaucrats. Still, he liked his job and he followed orders. He wasn't going to strike out on his own. He was a good organizer. He organized many plants.

B: What would you have liked to have seen done differently in the union?

M: I think the union basically should have challenged management's rights. Workers must have some say so in what is being produced, how its being produced, the price its being sold for and that is strictly in management's hands. They say, "Oh, we've got these labor management participation teams or quality of life work circles." But really, all the union has got to do is say what color will the toilet seats be painted and there are going to be markings in the parking lot of who parks where, but nothing to do with are we going to produce for peace or war. Are we going to produce for things we need or things we don't need. Look at Youngstown. The bridges are falling down or if they haven't been taken down, we need bridges, as an example. We heard all about the sewage problems, air pollution devices, you know. We're not producing what is needed by the public, because the public doesn't have any say so in what is being produced. Labor unions could have a role in that. I don't know about today but they could have.

B: Today, where are the unions in comparison to say, 1965?

M: I think they are in deep trouble. There is all kinds of mergers. There is Chapter 11 Bankruptcies, there is leveraged buy-outs. They're not interested in making a product, they are interested in making money. As long as we're based on that premise, the workers are going down the drain because they are more expendable than the equipment. Don't forget, the plant can be

shut down like GF and the equipment can be sold to Gassor Chair. That doesn't mean more jobs for anybody and if there are, they are minimum wage jobs or slightly above with no benefits. Our whole lifestyles are changing. Our expectations of the good life are changing which we were lead to believe that we were entitled to by Madison Avenue.

B: Who were some other noted labor leaders in Youngstown in the 1960's and 1970's for the period that you are familiar with?

M: People that I looked up to. Frank Trainor, Scotty Fagan, he was staff man for the International Union. Ted Dostal, who is still alive in Cleveland. He was a worker at U.S. Steel, a Stationary Engineer. Merlin Luce, Lee Heilman, who was an organizer for the mine workers. He lived in this area for a while. He is still alive. There were many people who come in and out of your life. John Barbero, he's dead now. He wasn't a labor leader. He was the same age as I was and we worked very close together. You ought to see that documentary, "Shout Youngstown". Do you know John Russo, the labor studies professor?

B: Name sounds real familiar.

M: I think I may have talked to him. You should talk to him. Dr. Russo.

B: As a veteran, did you ever find it difficult to oppose the United States policy?

M: Hell no. I'm a citizen first. No problem. No problem at all.

B: Organization-wise, do you think anything more could have been done by the people active in the anti-war movement?

M: No, I think they did the best they could with what they had. I really do. I have no criticism on what they did at all. I sure would have liked to have seen it more vigorous but I can't criticize it. People have different levels of energy. I think they did the best they could with what they had.

B: Did you belong to any organizations that were anti-war?

M: Yes. The IWW. Did you ever hear of that?

B: The Industrial Workers of the World?

M: Yes.

B: Any others?

M: No. I'm not a joiner. I didn't join any other organizations.

B: In Youngstown, who would you say were the most active anti-war leaders?

M: I'd say Alice Budge, the people you mentioned when you first came here. Roberts, Morris Slavin, pretty much basically, Satre. Those are the ones that I knew. Now there could have been others. Those were the ones that I knew. Merlin Luce and John Barbero.

B: As the war wound down, did labor or the workers at the mills switch their position on the war or did they still maintain their stance in favor of it?

M: Well, as it was winding down, there was no reason to be so much in favor of it. The average person in the mill, I think was a good example of society. They went pretty much the way that society went. I mean if the polls showed that there were more people who opposed the war near the end of the war, then that's the way the people in the mill were as well. Not as outgoing or vigorous, demanding, demonstrating group. No. I don't think the average person is like that. I think it is like a bell curve. You got 10% over here that go along with government policy. You know, it's always them. Then you got that 80% in the middle that pay their dues or pay their taxes and they don't really care. Then you got 10% over here that are radical, opposed to the situation. I think that's true in society. We get the media about how strong unions are. They're not strong at all. There are what, eleven million members of the AFL-CIO the last count, there are one hundred million workers in this country. They're not strong. They don't change anything.

B: Do you think the unions then changed anything in the 1960's or the 1970's?

M: No. The only things that were changed were like that of a consent decree that came in that said, "You will not discriminate." That changed. But it had to be forced on it, not by the unions itself. I'll have to correct myself on that. What consent decree means that companies and unions signed an agreement with the government that they would no longer discriminate. So that tells me that both parties were guilty and it had to change. There was a more of an upheaval in the union over the consent decree than the Vietnam War. Because now you were really threatening jobs that someone held for a long time because the company had put them on that job, the union had agreed to it that a

black man or a Spanish or a woman was entitled to. Really shouldn't unions have been in that position all along? I think so. They weren't.

B: Are you familiar with a man named Staughton Lynd?

M: Oh, absolutely.

B: What was his role. When did he come to Youngstown?

M: Early 1970's. I've known him ever since he came here and even before he came here. I always thought he was a fine person.

B: What was his role in the labor movement here?

M: Not in the labor movement but as a friend of the labor movement, the rank and file, I don't think he was particularly friendly with the bureaucrats that ran in unions because he is an honest person and they can't stand some honesty in some of the things they're doing. I've never met a finer person.

B: Would you say that the unions were "corrupt" at that time? Was there some corruption in the union, in their structure?

M: Well, the unions don't differ from any other organization. I look at it that there is a corruptness in business, in the savings and loans and I look at it in the Teamsters and the Steelworkers. You are going to have an element of corruptness wherever there is money and power.

B: Would it be more at the higher levels of the union than it would be at the grass roots?

M: Not necessarily. Don't forget, people look at what is going on at the higher levels. They look what is acceptable. Maybe I'd get away with it too. Not in all cases. That is if you followed the trial of the district director in Birmingham, Alabama in U.S. Steel making the deal with that union where the people making the deal got some pension benefits and the people in the mills got some job cuts. That is corruptness. If you are going to do it, be open and up-front with it. If the members agree with it, fine. But to do it in a back door manner, is corrupt.

B: Did you have any dealings with anything like that?

M: I saw it around me. Well here is a good example. There is a sub-district director. In a sub-union there are districts. Now Warren is a different district than

Youngstown. They were split up a few years back. A sub-district director, who was appointed by the International president, Tom Fair, had a very high position in the bureaucracy of the International union. One day, he was representing the workers. He retired. The next day he went to work for management. Now the union is paying his pension, which he earned, but now he represents management. He got a year's severance pay on top of that. Yet we're fighting for people's pensions, and benefits and insurance benefits say from GF that can't get the time of day out of the International union. Now that's corruptness.

As long as people are flip-flopping to that degree then we're in trouble. I wonder if we even have a union. We met with some people last night from Container Products over here in Masury. Their pension is being totally diluted. The International will not even meet with the people affected. Something is wrong with the International. What is wrong with them is that they've got people hired who are nothing but "yes people". They are not leaders. That's the corruptness I've seen.

B: Have the unions changed say from the 1960s until the present? How have they changed?

M: I don't think there has been a drastic change. I think the changes really took affect before that. From 1950 when Phil Murray got rid of all the active activists or organizers, he killed the union. They were nothing but "me too" bureaucrats after that.

B: Would you just say that it basically carried on until the present?

M: Absolutely because nobody is going to hire somebody who is smarter than they are. They may get his job.

B: Looking back now, is there anything you would have liked to seen change say, in the 1960s? What could have been the biggest change that would have benefitted the unions?

M: The right to ratify contracts by the members. It has changed now, but it's too late. The plants are all shut down.

B: As an active member of the anti-war movement, what would you have liked to have done differently there?

M: I couldn't have done anything differently. I really don't think so. I did my little part that I could do. Don't forget I had to survive too. I had a job, make a living. I couldn't go organizing around the country.

I had a family. I think where I was I did the best I could do.

B: As being active in the anti-war movement, what do you think your biggest contribution was?

M: I had three children and all three of them were raised with the philosophy that this world is bullshit and it has carried on to their lives today. I think that is the biggest contribution that I made because I saw people in the same position I was, raise their kids to be doctors and lawyers and accountants with no political ideology or interest at all. And my kids didn't suffer for it.

B: At the mill, were you ever harassed or teased about your position on the war?

M: Meaningless, sure. Just comoradory. When I did my job as a union rep, therefore I got reelected many times. Because I had a grievance to file I filed it and won it if I could. Treated everybody as fairly and equally and when it was a black and white issue, which was very unpopular at the time, when they started hiring women, the same thing, my job was to represent the workers that elected me. Not the ones that appointed me and I wasn't appointed. But when you become a bureaucrat, when you're appointed, you are only loyal to the people who appointed you, not to the people you are supposed to represent. I feel very strongly about that.

B: Is there anything you'd like to add now?

M: Yes. I think there ought to be more oral histories written.

B: Okay, well thank you very much for your time.

M: Sure.

END OF INTERVIEW